

would not break even without the input of the family. We have estimated an annual family labor input of 6000 to 6500 hours/year. In return my family draws \$14,400/yr and housing, milk and meat. Our gross revenues in each of the past two years have approached 300,000 dollars. Milk is the primary product produced and that production in 1994 was 1.6 million pounds (160,000 cwt). That 1994 production represents almost three times the production of this same facility in 1978-80 when my father, brother and I worked as partners and each drew a salary. Together my father and I have been making payments to the FHA for over 40 years and I have 25 years and \$110,000 to go on my farm ownership loan. We would probably not have maintained this operation without the security of the FHA loan.

We have added some buildings and prepared for a less labor-intensive livestock production enterprise and do of course have the option to update and sign the dotted line for another lifetime of debt if we want to take on a partner and continue producing milk. The fact of the matter is however that after nearly 20 years of working 3500-4000 hours per year, my body is saying "enough"! My brain is saying "there must be a better way"! And my heart is saying "thou shalt not offer a son"! I never thought I'd feel this way, let alone admit it.

In a nutshell, I know agriculture. I know crops. I know livestock. I can produce. I love to work. My family works for free. I love this life. My family does too. We plan to quit (as soon as we can figure a way to pull it off financially. . . but maybe sooner). I hope I can find work that allows us to maintain the high cost of country living.

EPILOGUE—MAY 1996

As it turns out, 1995 was a year of major marketing mistakes—at least wrong choices. Instead of selling 55 surplus steers at depressed prices in the fall to pay off bills, we were duped into selling 10,000 bushels of corn. The price seemed relatively good; and after all, how much worse could the cattle market get? This single decision will ultimately represent a turn around of nearly 30,000 dollars. When combined with a poor crop year, severe weather stresses to herd health and dairy production and additional budget pressures that happen from time to time, we simply were not in a strong enough financial position to handle this much adversity.

As a result, we had to either seek a guaranteed loan or sell out secured chattel which at depressed prices would have left us very little on which to operate. Fortunately the timing was right and the loan was approved. We honestly would not be operating this year without the help of the FHA. These people (Ron Walker and his loan officers) have always been cordial, understanding and very helpful. I salute them and the general mission of the Farmer's Home Administration.

SHOCK is the best way to describe what happened to us financially. It occurs to me that I can distinctly recognize the seven stages of grief in this process. There is for a man who has known tremendous happiness and satisfaction in his personal life as well as his business, no greater stress and loss than financial failure. The MOURNING and BLAME part of this process is very, very disturbing. Our Extension Service here in South Dakota responded to the flooding in 1993 with Project Rebound. I hope the cattle ranchers and feeders will be offered at least the emotional support they need during this cattle crisis. We have a plan and with decent crops should HEAL. I have a hunch that milk prices are going to respond fairly quickly to current market pressures. The REBUILDING part of this process for me will likely include a career change. I've always managed a high-

er level of energy for new challenges. I'm hoping again to see one of my sons have a life here—a clear sign we are rebuilding.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR BOB DOLE

Mr. KYL. Bob Dole's statement upon announcing he would give up his Senate seat to run for the Presidency—that he is "just a man"—packs a lot in a simple string of words, as is his habit. This phrase captures the modesty, the simplicity, and above all the straightforwardness and honesty of the Senator from Kansas. Men like Bob Dole achieve great things because they go at them directly, with no ifs, ands, or buts asking a lot of themselves and taking responsibility for the bottom line.

Senator Dole's more than 35 years of service to the Congress of the United States have been filled with great accomplishments because he never let up, he brought people of different views together to hammer out legislation, and he was an honest broker trusted by everyone. My father, Congressman John Kyl of Iowa, served with then-Congressman Dole in the House of Representatives in the 1960's and knew him to be a man of leadership and utter integrity. As Congressman Dole, and later Senator Dole, learned his job as a legislator, he never lost that sense of being "just a man" from Russell, KS. He is not one to be dazzled by the bright lights, the pomp, and the power of Washington. He came armed with the simple virtues of his Kansas constituents, and those same virtues are evident in him today. He remains the embodiment of the heartland of America—a place much maligned by sophisticates, perhaps, but a place that still has the moral strengths that we Americans define ourselves by: dedication to duty, plain but honest speech, and an awareness that limited government requires of office holders that they never take their power for granted. When Bob Dole says that he is grateful to have served his fellow citizens, those are not empty words. We believe him.

In his parting statement today, he told us that "there are some issues that transcend politics * * * and result in legislation that makes a real and lasting difference." Whether it is a matter of supporting civil rights, doggedly backing our military troops in an unpopular conflict in Indochina during the 1960's and 1970's, or ensuring access to public places for disabled Americans in the 1990's, he has often put aside partisanship and laid it on the line for the things he believes in. His statesmanship, his ability to come to closure for the sake of the common good, is well known to those of us who have worked with him inside this institution. But perhaps few outside of the Congress are aware of it. If everyone could know him as we do, they would see a man with an extraordinary capacity to see beyond the heated conflicts of the moment, to keep the big picture in mind, and to reach a consensus that yields

practical results. If everyone knew him as well as his colleagues do, they would see that Bob Dole has everything it takes to be President of this country.

Of the Senate he now says, on the day of his departure, "It is a place that I have loved." Again, no rhetorical flourishes, just simple words of emotion, and all the more powerful for being unadorned. He reached the pinnacle of leadership among Senate Republicans, and for all too short a time has been leader of the Chamber itself. But he has walked away, and in characteristic style. Bob Dole is at the peak of his powers. But he moves on, ready to take on the biggest challenge in a life full of challenges. He has demonstrated—and in a remarkably dramatic way—that he is not one to rest on his laurels; instead, he is the kind of man who does honor to every contest he enters.

CHINESE NUCLEAR MISSILES IN PAKISTAN

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, last year the Clinton administration asked Congress for the authority to allow United States military equipment to be delivered to Pakistan. Since 1990, such deliveries were not allowed because of a 1985 law known as the Pressler amendment, which prohibited any United States Assistance to Pakistan if the President failed to certify Pakistan was not in possession of a nuclear explosive device. My colleagues may recall that we debated this issue quite extensively. It was very controversial. In the end, despite strong opposition from this Senator and many of my colleagues, the Senate approved the so-called Brown amendment, which authorized the transfer of military equipment and repealed the Pressler amendment's prohibitions on nonmilitary aid to Pakistan. The Brown amendment became law earlier this year.

To bolster the Clinton administration's request, Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff sent a letter to Members of Congress on August 3, 1995, when the Senate first debated the Brown amendment. Secretary Tarnoff attempted to assure Senators that the administration's support of the Brown amendment would be conditional on "no significant change on nuclear and missile non-proliferation issues of concern to the United States."

Mr. President, that was then.

On February 22, 1996, Dr. John Deutch, the Director of Central Intelligence, testified before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Director Deutch confirmed earlier reports that Pakistan had taken delivery of sensitive nuclear technology used to develop weapons-grade uranium. He also confirmed that Pakistan had received M-11 ballistic missiles from China. My colleagues will recall that when we debated the Brown amendment, there was some dispute over whether Pakistan had in fact taken delivery of the M-11 missiles. Director

Deutch's testimony was the first time a Clinton administration official publicly confirmed the existence of the M-11s. In my view, this development should have halted the delivery of the military equipment to Pakistan. Unfortunately, the Clinton Administration did not consider the acquisition of this nuclear technology to be, in Secretary Tarnoff's words, a "significant change on nuclear and missile non-proliferation issues of concern to the United States."

Mr. President, this morning's Washington Times reveals that Pakistan has done more than just take possession of the M-11's. The Times reported that the M-11 missiles in Pakistan are operational and nuclear capable. If this account is accurate, and I have no reason to doubt it, Pakistan now has a complete, modern, nuclear weapons delivery system.

Mr. President, first of all, in spite of a string of pious promises and written agreements to the United States, China has demonstrated a severe lack of international responsibility. By providing both nuclear technology and the means to deliver nuclear weapons, Chinese Government-owned companies have contributed to a vast escalation of tensions between Pakistan and India. Director Deutch has pointed to the Indian subcontinent as the most worrisome area in the world. He's right.

The more immediate question, Mr. President, is what is the United States going to do? At the time the Senate approved the Brown amendment, we were of the belief that Pakistan did not possess both the technology to produce weapons-grade uranium, and an operational nuclear weapons delivery system. That was then. This is now. I do not believe the Senate would have approved the Brown amendment had we known then what we know now.

The Washington Times also reported that State Department officials attempted to water down or alter the intelligence reports regarding the M-11's, and also tried to prevent these reports from moving through normal intelligence channels. Apparently this was done to prevent sanctions from being enforced. This is a very serious allegation. In effect, Federal officials are being accused of blocking the law from being enforced.

Frankly, Mr. President, the Washington Times story is astounding. It is no secret that I am an outspoken critic of the Clinton administration's nuclear nonproliferation policy, or lack thereof. Before today, I never thought the administration's credibility regarding nonproliferation goals in South Asia could get worse. I was wrong.

I have written to President Clinton, asking that he enforce the non-proliferation laws he has sworn to uphold. I also have asked the President to withhold delivery of any military equipment authorized by the Brown amendment. Clearly, the conditions the Clinton administration made to

Pakistan for its support of the Brown amendment have been violated to a degree unimaginable. I also intend to contact the chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Senator SPECTER, to request that the committee conduct a full investigation on the allegations raised involving the blocking or altering of intelligence reports by State Department officials. Finally, I intend to continue seeking the support of my colleagues to repeal the Brown amendment, and may offer an amendment to do just that in the near future. I think we have more than enough evidence to demonstrate why the Brown amendment should not have been passed. In my view, Congress was badly misled last year relative to Pakistan's nuclear arms development and delivery capability. My bill, which already has several cosponsors, would restore the supremacy of our nuclear nonproliferation laws.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my letter of today to President Clinton and a Washington Times article by Bill Gertz be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, DC, June 12, 1996.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: A story in today's Washington Times reported that the U.S. intelligence community has determined that Pakistan obtained M-11 ballistic missiles from the People's Republic of China (PRC) as part of an illegal conspiracy to evade national international arms control agreements. Even more disturbing, the Times reported that these nuclear capable missiles have been deployed by Pakistan.

If these reports are true, I strongly urge you to enforce the law and impose sanctions on both countries to the fullest extent of the law. Further, I urge you to withhold from delivering to Pakistan any U.S. equipment as provided in the so-called Brown amendment to the Fiscal Year 1996 Foreign Operations Appropriations Act.

As you know, the United States has sought for a number of years to put an end to illegal missile transfers originating in the PRC. As you well know, sanctions were imposed on China just three years ago for transferring M-11 components in violation of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). Those sanctions were lifted in 1994, after the PRC pledged not to make future deliveries of missiles or related components listed under the MTCR.

Last year, the New York Times and Defense News reported that Pakistan had received M-11 missiles from the PRC. This was confirmed by Central Intelligence Agency Director John Deutch in his testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee on February 22, 1996.

These are troubling developments. We face a situation in which the PRC has violated both a multinational missile control agreement as well as a written non-proliferation agreement with the United States. As a result of these violations, Pakistan now has for the first time a strategic nuclear delivery capability.

Again, if the reports are true, I see no recourse but to impose sanctions on both Paki-

stan and the PRC. Our own credibility as a world leader in nuclear non-proliferation requires no less.

Our credibility also requires that we take additional action: the withholding of any U.S. military equipment authorized for delivery under the so-called Brown amendment. Last August, when the Brown amendment was first considered in the Senate, Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff stated that your Administration's support for the Brown amendment would be conditional on "no significant change on nuclear and missile non-proliferation issues of concern to the United States."

At the time Secretary Tarnoff made this statement, Congress and the Administration were of the belief that Pakistan did not have both the nuclear technology capable of processing enriched uranium, and an operational system of ballistic missiles capable of delivering a nuclear payload. Clearly, the conditions set by your Administration have been violated by Pakistan to a degree unimaginable.

Finally, I believe Congress was misled badly last year relative to Pakistan's arms development and delivery capability. Earlier this year, I wrote to you expressing my concern that members of your Administration knew that Pakistan was obtaining illicit nuclear technology from the PRC while the Brown amendment was pending. I am equally concerned with allegations raised in the Washington Times article that members of your Administration may have attempted to alter the content or the processing of intelligence reports in order to avoid sanctions. This is a very serious allegation, and I have requested that the Senate Intelligence Committee conduct a thorough review of this matter.

Mr. President, you and I have not always agreed with the best course of action on nuclear non-proliferation, particularly in South Asia. I am sure you will agree with me that if the Washington Times story is true, we have reached a very dangerous stage in an already very unstable part of the world. It has always been our policy to other nations that nuclear proliferation should carry a heavy price. It is imperative to the peace and security of all the peoples of South Asia that this policy be enforced.

For these reasons, I strongly urge you to enforce fully our nation's non-proliferations laws, and honor the conditions set forth last year by withholding any future implementation of the Brown amendment.

Thank you for your attention to this very critical nonproliferation issue.

Sincerely,

LARRY PRESSLER,
U.S. Senator.

[From the Washington Times, June 12, 1996]
PAKISTAN DEPLOYS CHINESE MISSILES
(By Bill Gertz)

U.S. intelligence agencies have concluded that Pakistan has deployed nuclear-capable Chinese M-11 missiles and that the transfer was part of a conspiracy to skirt missile-control agreements.

The declaration, contained in interagency intelligence reports produced last month, confirms for the first time that Pakistan now has a strategic nuclear delivery capability. The finding is expected to trigger U.S. economic sanctions against both Pakistan and China based on a 1990 law.

State Department officials, however, are trying to block the intelligence judgment through bureaucratic maneuvering to avoid imposing sanctions, according to intelligence sources familiar with the effort.

The intelligence sources disclosed to The Washington Times that a report that Pakistan has operational Chinese M-11 missiles

was discussed last month by the Weapons and Space Systems Intelligence Committee. The committee is an interagency panel of intelligence experts who evaluate missile developments worldwide. The report was based on sensitive CIA data.

A separate "statement of fact" also was drafted last month declaring that China and Pakistan took part in a "conspiracy to transfer M-11s," according to an intelligence document obtained by The Times.

U.S. officials said the statement is the first step in an intelligence M-11 components were spotted in Pakistan three years ago.

China's delivery of the weapons violates the 31-nation Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), as well as a 1994 U.S.-China agreement not to deploy M-11s in Pakistan.

CIA and State Department spokesmen would not comment on the intelligence findings. A Chinese Embassy spokesman also declined to comment.

A Pakistani Embassy spokesman denied that any M-11s are operational in his country or that any were bought from China.

The M-11 finding highlights China's active role in arms-proliferation activities and comes after the recent administration decision not to impose economic sanctions on China for selling nuclear-weapons technology to Pakistan.

The administration announced last month it would not impose sanctions because it claimed senior Chinese officials were unaware of the sale last year of ring magnets—components used to produce nuclear-weapons fuel—to Pakistan.

William C. Triplett, a specialist on China, said the M-11 deployment, when coupled with the sale of nuclear-arms technology, is a major boost in Pakistan's drive for a strategic nuclear capability and will increase tensions in the volatile region.

"This is a major change in the geostrategic balance between Pakistan and India, and a devastating blow to Clinton administration efforts to reduce tensions on the subcontinent," said Mr. Triplett, a former counsel to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. Triplett, a former U.S. intelligence official, also said he is not surprised by efforts of the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research to block the M-11 deployment judgment. The bureau is notorious for politicizing analyses and should be excluded from taking part in future inter-agency estimates, he said.

Limited sanctions were imposed on China in 1993 for selling M-11 components to Pakistan.

The sanctions, affecting an estimated \$500 million in American sales, were lifted in October 1994 after Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and Secretary of State Warren Christopher signed an agreement halting sales of the M-11 and similar missiles.

Under a 1990 U.S. law, Pakistan's possession of operational M-11s requires the president to impose two years' sanctions on both countries that limit U.S. sales of high-technology products.

The sanctions also would bar imports of any products made by the government-owned China Precision Machinery Import-Export Corp., which makes M-11s, and Pakistan's Defense Ministry. Both companies were sanctioned in the 1993 M-11 component transfer.

Sanctions would have their greatest impact on sales of high-technology goods to China. Those goods were a major portion of the \$12 billion in U.S. trade with China last year.

A State Department official said in 1994 when MTCR-related sanctions were lifted that if complete missiles were deployed in Pakistan "we would have no choice but to impose MTCR sanctions."

Mr. Deutch said in Senate testimony Feb. 22 that China has continued to sell inappro-

priate weapons and military technology in recent months, including "nuclear technology to Pakistan, M-11 missiles to Pakistan, cruise missiles to Iran."

"If this is true, there is no longer any excuse for not imposing sanctions on both China and Pakistan," said Gary Milhollin, director of the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control.

China's disregard for the arms-control agreements despite U.S. appeals has exposed the weakness of U.S. policy toward Beijing, he said.

The MTCR, which limits sales of missiles with ranges greater than 186 miles or with warheads weighing more than 1,100 pounds, has no enforcement mechanism. But an amendment to the 1990 Defense Authorization Act requires the government to impose sanctions against foreign firms for MTCR violations.

U.S. officials have said the M-11 is a nuclear-capable missile whose export is barred under the MTCR because its warhead capacity exceeds MTCR limits.

U.S. intelligence agencies reported last year that the M-11 deal moved ahead after Pakistan paid \$15 million to China for missiles, launchers and support equipment. The M-11s were shipped to Pakistan in 1993, but their assembly was not confirmed.

Spy-satellite photographs taken in April 1995 showed missile canisters at a facility in Sargodha, Pakistan. Two teams of Chinese missile technicians were sent to Pakistan later to provide training and to unpack and assemble the M-11s, intelligence sources said.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ROBERT DOLE

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Senator Robert J. Dole of Russell, KS for his 35 years of service in the U.S. Congress. Tuesday was a sad day for the U.S. Senate, for we lost one of our great leaders. It was also a sad day for me personally, for I lost a trusted colleague and a valued friend in the Senate. As the Republican leader in the Senate for 11 years, Senator Dole has left his fingerprints on every piece of legislation that has passed the Congress. His legacy will be remembered forever as one of vast legislative achievement.

I got my first glimpse of Senator Dole's legislative abilities when I came to Congress in 1975. In the wake of Watergate, and the massive congressional turnover that ensued, I was secured the position of ranking member of the House Agriculture Subcommittee with jurisdiction over the dairy industry. As a member of the Senate Agriculture Committee, Senator Dole and I worked closely together on many issues. I remember well the bonds we formed as conferees together on farm bills and working together to pass legislation for food stamps and child nutrition.

Later, as I gained seniority on the House Education and Labor Committee, we worked together again on disability policy. Senator Dole's commitment and determination to the passage of legislation ensuring that all Americans, regardless of physical disability, had equal opportunity was inspirational.

In 1989 when I became a member of the U.S. Senate, I had the privilege of

seeing Senator Dole's leadership abilities first-hand everyday. I have watched with amazement his ability to pull legislative initiatives out of the fire, and prevail on issues from civil rights to Social Security reform. In Vermont there's a saying, "You can't get there from here." Well, Senator Dole proved that adage wrong time and time again as he has moved legislation through the Senate.

In an institution where you are only as good as your word, Senator Dole prospered. His ability to build coalitions and form consensus on some of this Nation's most pressing issues is a testament to his integrity and character. In a world that has become ever more crude and impertinent, Senator Dole has defined "the word" civility.

Tuesday was a bittersweet day, for although I'm sad Senator Dole has left us in the Senate, I know he'll be close by as he seeks higher aspirations. I only hope that he knows that this is one Senator who feels that the U.S. Senate will never be the same without him.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REPORT CONCERNING THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1995—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 153

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources:

To the Congress of the United States:

It is my pleasure to transmit herewith the Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts for the fiscal year 1995.

On September 29, 1995, at the close of the fiscal year, the Arts Endowment celebrated its 30th anniversary. A young man or woman born at the same time as this Federal agency's establishment has enjoyed access to the arts and culture unparalleled in the history of the country. The National Endowment for the Arts has helped bring tens of thousands of artists into schools, teaching tens of millions of students about the power of the creative imagination. This small Federal agency has helped launch a national cultural network that has grown in size and quality these past 30 years.

This Annual Report is another chapter in a great success story. In these pages, you will find projects that bring